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VI. — DOG-BREEDING.

231 492 174 THE BEGINNINGS OF DOG-DRIVING, AND ITS FORMER AND PRESENT EXTENT. — No doubt the dog was domesticated long before it was used for driving. According to a tradition recorded by me in the village Itkana, the use of dogs for driving, among the Koryak, began as follows. Once upon a time some children who were playing with a dog tied it to a wooden chamber-vessel (očaʼlyo). The dog dragged the vessel along. "Ah," said the people, "it can draw!" and they hitched the dog to a sled.[1] This tradition points to the fact that in the memory of Koryak now living a reminiscence has been preserved of the time when the dog, though already a domesticated animal, was not employed for driving-purposes.[2]

492 171 According to the statements of early travellers and writers, like Marco Polo and Witsen, dog-driving in western Siberia was formerly employed much farther to the south than it is now. As stated by Witsen, at the time when he wrote (1785) there were no horses in the northern parts of the Yenisei district, but only dogs; and even near Tomsk horses were used in summer for driving, and dogs in winter.[3] Later on, the horse supplanted the Siberian driving-dog, and in the extreme north it found its competitor in the Arctic reindeer. In more southerly latitudes the dog has held its place as a driving and draught animal only in the southeastern part of Siberia, in Kamchatka, on Saghalin Island, and in the Amur region. In the well-known expedition to the Yugra country in 1499 the Russian Army was accompanied, according to Lehrberg, by hundreds of dog-sledges.[4] The same writer states that in former times dog-driving was in use west of the Ural Mountains in the government of Perm. Middendorf supposes that in Europe the driving-dog was superseded by the horse in antiquity, probably in prehistoric times. He

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[1] Steller (p. 133) quotes the tradition of the Kamchadal, according to which their creator Kutka did not hitch up dogs, but dragged the sled himself.

[2] It is interesting to note that in Koryak mythology reindeer-driving as a sign of wealth is contrasted with going afoot as an indication of poverty (see Part I, pp. 253, 281, 283), but not with dog-driving. In my judgment, it cannot be inferred from this that the Koryak dog was not used for driving until after the reindeer had been tamed. In the first place, the dog is the most ancient domesticated animal, and, besides, it was very easy to teach it to draw a sled; in the second place, primitive imagination, as well as the most modern, employs extreme situations to enhance contrast, unwittingly or purposely disregarding intermediate conditions that do not bring out the contrast so well. In one myth (see Part I, p. 210) Big-Grandfather asks his daughters to give him some soup for feeding the dogs. He goes out and calls the dogs, and the reindeer which have carried off the Fog-Man turn into dogs and run back to the trough with their sled. From this myth it may be concluded that the creator of the Koryak world is conceived of as having driving-dogs.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 530.

[4] See Lehrberg, Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Russlands: 1. Ueber das Yugrische Land (St. Petersburg, 1816), p. 17.

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also thinks that the expression "pennikorm" of the Baltic Provinces (which means "a dog's load"), which is used instead of "geographical mile", recalls the vanished custom of dog-harnessing.[1] We find, of course, in many European countries at present, also the use of draught-dogs harnessed to small carts. I observed it in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. Milkmen, green-grocers, tradesmen, artisans, distribute or bring their products to market in carts to which are harnessed one or two dogs. The driver, man or woman, helps them draw. But this particular, limited use of dogs as draught-animals is quite different from the breeding and harnessing of dogs of the Siberian tribes, to whom the dog furnishes the only means of communication and transportation. It is possible, however, that the present use of the dog in harness in Europe may be regarded as a relic of a more extensive use of the harnessed dog in antiquity.

Considering the available data concerning the former extent of dog-driving in the West, we are forced to the conclusion that the changes in the manner of harnessing and driving dogs among the dog-breeders of eastern Siberia, which have taken place in historic times, occurred under the influence of Russian invaders, who had been familiar with dog-driving previous to their meeting with the East Siberian tribes.

I have remarked before that the region in which dogs were used as draught-animals has narrowed down to a certain degree, owing to the introduction of the reindeer. Most of the Siberian tribes engaged in dog-breeding, like the Ostyak, Samoyed, Tungus, Yukaghir, Chukchee, and Koryak, employ also the reindeer to such an extent that in many cases a large portion, sometimes even the majority, of the tribe, are engaged in reindeer-breeding. The tribes which formerly did, and do now, use only dogs as draught-animals, are the Ainu, Gilyak, and Kamchadal in Asia, and the Eskimo and Indians of northwestern America. The Russians now living in hamlets in the Far North (principally near the mouths of rivers) and in the extreme east of Siberia also use dogs exclusively for hauling loads and for travelling. In a few localities these Russians, who are fishermen, possess a small number of horses for riding in summer, but none of them have taken up reindeer-breeding, — an occupation conflicting with the sedentary habits of their former home.[2] In the north of the Yakut Province a few Russians own small herds of reindeer, but the herds are under the care of Tungus.

Both the modern driving-dog of Siberia and that of northern America belong to the same wolf-like race of domestic dogs. Middendorf supposes that it represents a cross between a wolf and jackal.[3] Schrenck, too, considers

[1] Compare Middendorf, II, pp. 519, 520.
[2] See the ethnographic map in Part I for Russian hamlets in the extreme northeast of Siberia.
[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 527.

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231 the Eskimo dog as related to that of Asia. He thinks that the dog of northern North-America has reached there from the Old World.[1]

171 Except for its smaller stature (the average height at the fore-legs is between 50 cm. and 75 cm.) and more varied color, the dog is, on the whole, hard to distinguish from the polar wolf. Though a considerable percentage of dogs are of a uniform light or dark gray color, like that of the wolf, many of white color and black color occur; but particularly numerous are the piebald dogs, with white or black spots on their legs, chest, and sides. West of the Stanovoi Ridge more piebald dogs are found than near the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. For instance, along the Indighirka the majority of dogs that I saw were piebald, with white and black spots. This, in all probability, must be the result of intercrossing of the native dogs with the Tungus hunting-dog, which resembles the shepherd-dog, or with the dogs imported by the Russians. This may also explain the fact that on the Lena, among the Yakut dogs, I sometimes saw specimens with drooping ears. On the other hand, from crossing the driving-dog with the Tungus dog, which is smaller in size, there results a small fox-like type, with pointed snout, small erect ears, and bushy tail. Such dogs I met frequently on the Kolyma River. They very much resemble foxes, especially those with reddish fur. When in good humor, they turn their bushy tail upward; but when tired or disgruntled, they drop it and drag it, as foxes do. Then the round pupils of the eyes alone distinguish this dog from a fox.

492 The present method of driving dogs employed by the Koryak is identical
171 with that used by the Russians and natives of ...stern Siberia, and particularly also with that used by the Chukchee, which has been described in detail by Bogoras.[2] Therefore I shall point out here only a few peculiar traits of dog-breeding among the Koryak, and its relation to their domestic economy. I shall also give some additional information relating to the distribution and types of dog-breeding in Siberia.

HARNESS. — To the three types of dog-harness mentioned by Bogoras, two others may be added, — the modern Gilyak and the ancient Kamchadal type. Thus we find the following five types: —

1. *The West Siberian Harness.* — It consists of a round strap encircling the dog's body like a belt across abdomen and back (Fig. 65). From the lower part of the belt, where the ends of the belt-strap are joined by means of a toggle, a trace runs between the hind-legs of the dog. Around this trace is wound some soft material, usually a piece of fur, to protect the legs of the animal. Thus the dogs are made to pull with their haunches. In describing the West Siberian dog-harness, Middendorf says that a small strap runs from the upper part of the harness, over the loins, to the main line, to

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series pp. 98—114.

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sledge is deemed a great sin, for thus the Kamchadal women sit on it."[1] On the other hand, Steller relates that the Kamchadal sat more frequently on one side of their sledge to be able to jump down quickly in dangerous places, but sometimes when driving on a smooth plain they sat astride.[2]

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Treatment of the Dog. *Feeding.* — The northern driving-dog, being a carnivorous animal, requires for its nourishment the same food as man. This has the advantage that the procuring and storing of food for both man and his domestic animals may be attended to at one and the same time and place. On the other hand, an abundant supply of animal food is required: hence dog-breeding is possible only on the seacoast or near rivers rich in fish. Besides, dog-breeding necessitates settled habits, as it requires large stocks of animal food for the winter, when sea-hunting ceases, as is the case in the territory occupied by the Koryak. The main food of the Siberian dogs consists of fish. On the coast, fish is caught in summer in great quantities, and is conveniently prepared for winter supplies. The Koryak dogs, too, prefer fish to any other kind of animal food. The principal fish caught by the Koryak is the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*). It serves also as the staple food for dogs. In part the dogs' food is supplied by the small fish uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*). Dog-salmon dried in the sun is fed dry to the dogs during journeys. The skeleton of the dog-salmon, too, on which small pieces of meat remain after the soft parts have been removed for drying, supplies food after being dried in the sun. When at home, a thin soup for the dogs, made from the bones and heads of dog-salmon, dried uyo'k, and other fish-offal, is cooked in an iron kettle. Into this soup pieces of seal-blubber are sometimes thrown. The soup for the dogs, when ready, is cooled a little by pouring it into wooden or seal skin buckets (Plate xxvii, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 104), which are then carried out of the houses on the backs of the women by means of head-bands. As the food for the dogs is prepared of those parts of fish which decompose most rapidly during the summer and autumn, a strong stench fills the houses while it is being cooked. During our residence in the underground houses of the Koryak, this stench from the dogs' food caused us the greatest annoyance. The dogs are fed outside of the house. Plate xxvii, Fig. 1, shows two women pouring the warm soup, which is of the color of iron-rust, from wooden buckets into a long wooden trough. Before feeding, children untie those dogs, which for some reason are tied up. Impetuously the dogs make for the trough, and furiously begin to lap up the soup, dipping their snouts into the liquid up to the eyes, searching for the more substantial solid portions of the food. Fights are rare among the dogs while feeding, for they well know that the dog that starts a fight will be struck over the head by the women or children who supervise

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 81.

[2] See Steller, p. 374.

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FIG. 1. FEEDING OF DOGS.

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FIG. 2. FISHING WITH MASH-NET.

[Facing p. 513]

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231 the feeding. No sooner, however, does a dog from another household approach the trough, than all will set upon it. A newly acquired dog is brought to the trough and watched, lest the other dogs attack it. After two or three days the pack recognize the new dog's right to come to the trough. A similar protection must be extended by the Maritime Koryak to a newly acquired dog that is for the first time put into a team.

231 As far as I know, among all the Asiatic tribes using the dog, only the Gilyak feed the dogs indoors. For this purpose a high platform is erected 171 in the middle of the house, the trough with the feed is placed on it, and the dogs are taken there.[1] The Koryak, Chukchee, Kamchadal, Yukaghir, northern Yakut, and coast Tungus feed the dogs out of doors. The Eskimo do not let the dogs into the house, but they lie in the entrance leading into the winter house. Murdoch says that the Eskimo women take care of the puppies as if they were babes, and carry them in their coats.[2] Among the Central Eskimo, "young dogs are carefully nursed, and in winter they are even allowed to lie on the couch, or are hung up over the lamp in a piece of skin."[3]

231 *Care of the Dog.* — Among all dog-breeders, — excepting the north-171 ern Yakut, who only lately reached the polar regions, where they took to dog-driving, — dogs are believed to play a certain part in the world of the 774 dead. The Yukaghir, Koryak, Chukchee, and Kamchadal believe that dogs 343 guard the entrance to the country of the shades.[4] They must be bribed by the entering shadows. They give a very ugly reception to the dead who while alive tortured dogs. These ideas are not foreign to the Gilyak, Aleut, and Eskimo. We find an entirely different attitude toward the dog among the Yakut, who originally did not breed dogs. They consider the dog an unclean animal. The shaman whose protecting spirit appears in the form of a dog is deemed bad. While even horses and cattle possess souls (kut), the dog has none. Accordingly it is not fit for sacrifice to evil spirits. The Yakut were offended when I took my dog along into the house, especially when I placed it near me in the front corner, the place accorded to guests of honor. The dog, a Yakut told me, brings into the house the evil spirits (abasy) that sit by tens on the point of the dog's tail. Hence I never saw a Yakut fondling a dog. He treats the dog with great cruelty. Among true dog-breeders we meet with a different attitude towards the dog. The Koryak often fondle them, and in caring for them, both at home and on journeys, oftener try to train them by caresses and kind words than by the stick. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, and also the Maritime Koryak, build on the side of the house rather

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 168; Sternberg, The Gilyak (The Ethnographical Review, Bulletin of the Ethnographic Section of the Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography [Moscow, 1904], 1, p. 18).
[2] See Murdoch, p. 358.
[3] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.
[4] See Part I, p. 110.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak R Y4

roomy sheds for the protection of dogs during snow-storms. These dog-kennels are made of logs, and have roofs with two slopes covered over with bark to keep the snow of winter and the rain of summer from getting in through the chinks. The back of the kennel is formed by the wall of the house. The opposite side serves as an entrance. It is fenced off by a high threshold. The depth of the kennel varies from a metre to two metres, and its height is about a metre. These kennels are mainly intended for bitches with puppies. Schrenck says of the Gilyak,[1] as Boas and Murdoch say of the Eskimo, that they keep the puppies in the house.[2] Owing to the plan of construction of the Koryak winter house, it would involve great difficulties to keep puppies in the house; and for this reason they are not taken inside, notwithstanding the great care bestowed by the Maritime Koryak upon their dogs.[3]

In the back part of the kennel, girls build a bed of dry grass for the slut and her litter. Special nourishing food is cooked for the slut. Small or even grown-up girls take the food to her by crawling into the kennel. They see to it that the dog warms, feeds, and does no harm to the pups. Often the sluts, especially if it is their first breed, display no affection for the pups, and are inclined to desert them. When the pups grow up, the girls accustom them to eat soup and finely minced fish from the trough. When the mother-dog can no longer cover the growing pups with her body, or when she begins to leave the kennel, the puppies warm one another by cuddling close together. Each pup endeavors to get to the middle. On very cold days they lie this way for days at a time, except when being fed, and they squeal on account of the cold. The pups are very timid. At the end of the second month they venture on sunny days to crawl over the kennel threshold to see the light of day; but at the merest approach of man or of a grown dog, they run back to their lair. The threshold is made principally for the purpose of confining the young puppies to the kennel.

Steller thus describes the Kamchadal method of raising puppies and training them for driving:[4] "When the pups' eyes were open, they were placed with the bitch in a deep hole, that they might see neither men nor animals, and there they were fed. After they had been weaned, they were placed in another ditch. On reaching six months of age, they were harnessed

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 168.

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[3] I take occasion here to draw attention to the statements made by Kennan (p. 225) concerning Koryak dogs, and by Steller (p. 134) concerning Kamchadal dogs. Both authors state that they climb to the roofs of houses and into storehouses erected on posts. According to Steller, the Kamchadal dogs climb up ladders and steal provisions from storehouses; and Kennan relates that Koryak dogs will look into the opening from the roofs of underground dwellings and during their scuffles will roll down into the kettles in which food is being cooked. On no occasion have I seen Koryak dogs on house-roofs. They would climb over the roof of the antechamber and up the sloping walls of the house, under the cover of the storm-roof, where they found shelter from the winds. I could not teach a Koryak dog that I brought up myself to clamber from the roof of the ante-room to the house-roof by means of the holes in the post which serves as a ladder.

[4] Steller, p. 138.

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231 to a sledge along with trained dogs, and driven over a short distance, and
171 then put back into the ditch.[1] Thus they were often taken out of the hole to be trained for driving. Only after they had gone a long journey, and after they had become accustomed to being harnessed to a sledge every time they were taken out of their hole, were they tied to the posts under the storehouses with the older dogs. The Koryak also begin to break pups when they are six months old. They are first kept tied to a line. Being used to running about free, they are impatient when tied up. They howl and whine, and are overjoyed when hitched to the sledge. Most of the puppies display such eagerness to run, that they are driven a short distance only to prevent over-exertion.

Pups born in spring or summer are put in harness with the coming of winter; but those born in autumn or winter are not trained for driving until the end of winter or spring, and are not used for driving until the following autumn.

231 According to Schrenck,[1] the Gilyak do not use female dogs in harness;
492 but all other dog-breeders of East Siberia with whom I came into personal contact, between the Lena River and Bering Sea, prize draught-bitches very highly. They are weaker than the males, but they surpass the latter in zeal, and perform their tasks more earnestly and diligently. Sluts, in addition, often exhibit more aptitude to act as "leaders" than do the males. Often a bitch is placed among the front pairs to induce the ungelded males to try to reach her and thus pull their lines well. No special care is given to pregnant sluts. They are usually harnessed up to the moment of delivery; but very often the women watch over them, and do not allow them to be hitched up. Should a slut deliver her pups during a journey, far from human habitations, the young ones are doomed to perish. One night when in camp on the snow, on our way from the coast village Kamenskoye to the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge, a slut of one of the drivers who carried my freight was delivered of pups at night while in harness. It was bitter cold and windy. The slut burrowed in the snow, and, shivering with cold, lay over her young in the hole she had made. In the morning, when we had sipped our tea by the campfire and began to prepare for the journey, the cruel master took the slut off from her puppies and harnessed her with the other dogs to his sledge. The puppies remained in the icy hole: the snow, which melted from the heat of the slut and her pups, froze. Two of the pups had died from the cold, while the remaining two were yet moving, but soon froze to death. The wretched slut lagged for a time behind the other dogs, but soon began to keep pace with them.

492 If a dog becomes so ill on a journey that it can no longer run, it is

[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

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492 unharnessed and abandoned in the wilderness. Nevertheless I had occasion to see that favorite dogs whose paws had been cut by the hard snow-crust, so that they could not run any longer, were taken on the sledge until the next camp was reached.

• 231 In spring, when driving with dogs is no longer possible, the sledge is suspended under the platform of the elevated storehouses to prevent the summer rains from drenching it. The dogs are set free, and from that time on they are given no food. Until fishing-time begins, the dogs content themselves with hunting mice, marmots, and other small animals in the tundra. When the fish ascend the rivers to spawn, the dogs begin to hunt for them in shallow places in rivers and at low tide on the seacoast. When fish are plentiful, they eat only the heads, and leave the bodies. The small fish uyo'k enters the small bays to spawn in such masses that after high tide a thick layer of roe remains on the shore. The Koryak do not eat it, but it attracts bears. The dogs are also very fond of it. In summer, while fish is abundant, dogs also indulge in vegetable food. They pluck off berries, principally sweet ones, like the bleaberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), cloud-berry (*Rubus chamæmorus*), and the fruit of the sweet-brier (*Rosa rubiginosa*). In all probability, these berries serve rather as a laxative in case of disordered digestion induced by excessive use of food, than as nutriment. I have had repeated occasions to see dogs eat herbs as an emetic. After having chewed and swallowed a sufficient amount of grass, the dog begins to vomit. Then he chews and swallows more grass. During the summer the dogs grow fat, and by autumn they are of well-rounded and handsome form. It is hard to recognize the same dog in autumn and in spring. After the labors and privations of winter, the dog has a surly appearance. It grows so thin, that the bones are seen through the skin, its movements are slow, and the hair, while being shed, hangs down in long tufts.

At this season the dog is subject to various diseases, some of epidemic character.[1] In rare cases the dog's food gives out toward spring, so that the teams are starving. In winter, if the supply of dog's food is early exhausted, the dogs have to be content with human excrement. Even well-fed dogs are fond of it, and are attracted by it as reindeer are by urine. When the dogs are hungry, it is not entirely safe to go to the privy without a stick in hand, owing to the fights among the dogs for possession of the excrement.[2]

If the dog has been poorly fed in winter, and is very lean in spring,

[1] On the diseases of dogs, see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 104.

[2] The poor polar Yakut of the Kolyma tundra, who live on the scanty proceeds of fishing in the lakes and go hungry in winter, give hardly any food to their dogs, which carry wood and water and are used on short journeys. In summer their dogs are left to themselves and go hunting, and in winter their food consists mainly of human excrement. These Yakut felt insulted when I fed meat to my dog. "Thou givest thy dog food befitting the most honored men," my Yakut interpreter once said to me reproachfully. The dogs of these Yakut are of very small size, and are the most wretched specimens that I ever saw among driving-dogs. I have spoken before of the contempt with which the Yakut treat dogs, which are considered as unclean animals.

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231 the shedding of hair begins late and proceeds slowly. Only late in summer, in July or even in August, does the dog cast off the last spears of the old, dirty, and faded hair. A fat dog begins to shed hair as early as April, and is covered with new hair in June. Pups born in autumn also shed their hair late; while those born in spring, or even at the end of winter, do not shed hair at all during their first summer. In autumn all dogs are covered with thick, long, soft, and glossy hair. In winter the hair of the fur grows long and stiff; but the fine downy fur, which is the dog's chief protection against cold and winds, becomes thicker. In autumn the color of the fur becomes darker, but in dogs of light color it grows whiter. During winter the dog's fur fades; and by spring-time the dark colors become reddish or gray, while the light colors take on a yellowish tinge.

When the rivers freeze over and the ground is covered with snow, the dogs are caught and tied to the posts on which the storehouse rests. At the end of summer the dogs that during the summer had undertaken long hunting-excursions return of their own accord to their master's dwelling. During the first days they are fed very little, that they may lose fat. If a long journey is contemplated, they are not fed at all for two or three days. While travelling, they receive only dry food, which makes them light of foot. They are fed in the evening when the camp is made. Each dog usually gets a dry skeleton of a dog-salmon. Further, in the day-time, during rests on the journey, pieces of dried fish are thrown to the dogs. When at home, soup is cooked for them after they have rested. The feeding with soup described before usually takes place in the afternoon, towards evening. On the journey, when dry food only is given them, the dogs often eat snow to quench their thirst. A short time after the beginning of winter the dogs that are quiet and not given to pilfering are left at liberty. Only on the eve of a journey are they tied up, in order to economize their strength, so that they may be swift and enduring on the next day; but the dogs that eat straps, spoil leather wallets and clothes (which, however, all dogs do during times of starvation), and steal provisions, are kept tied up throughout the winter. To prevent the dogs from chewing the straps with which they are tied up, sticks about half a metre long, with holes at both ends, are used. Through these holes short straps are passed, whereby one end of the stick is tied to the dog-collar, while the other and longer strap is attached to the post or to a taut line running from post to post at a height twice or three times that of the dog. The dog can with its teeth get at the stick only, which does not interfere very much with its motions, and does not prevent it from lying down. These sticks are going out of use, and are replaced by imported iron chains.

825 It is believed that a strong occipital protuberance of a dog indicates strength and zeal. Besides this, draught-dogs of slow gait, and dogs for fast driving, are distinguished by their appearance. The former are said to have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively short head.

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have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively short head. 600

Male dogs are gelded in order to make them quiet, and that they may retain fat notwithstanding the hard work they have to do. Ungelded males grow thin very quickly. Usually they are gelded when one year old. As they begin to mature at the age of six or seven months, the litter is obtained mainly from males that have not yet reached their full maturity and entered into possession of their full powers. This must have an unfavorable influence on the breed. Some owners leave particularly strong dogs ungelded until they are two or three years old, and use them for breeding-purposes. 232

The operation of gelding is at present performed with an ordinary knife. Two men hold the dog, which is laid on its back, firmly, while a third one cuts open the scrotum and removes the testicles by severing them from the spermatic ducts. To stop the bleeding, the scrotum is filled with snow. Usually the operation is performed on a cold day in winter, which is believed to be favorable to success. Ordinarily the dogs bear the operation well, and the wound soon heals. Rarely does a dog die from loss of blood. Once I saw a dog which remained almost motionless for a whole week after the operation, frequently licked the wound, and lay down on fresh snow to lessen the inflammation. The Russianized natives on the Kolyma told me that they would not allow the gelded dogs to lie down. The dogs are gelded during a short stop on a journey. Immediately after the operation the whole team is driven full speed, and the dog which has just been operated on must run along. In this way, say these cruel surgeons, the dogs get hardened, and bear the operation well. All the disagreeable traits in the character of the draught-dog noticed by travellers seem to me to apply mainly to gelded dogs. After the operation they lose all liveliness and sprightliness, become surly, indifferent to their companions, afraid of human beings, and attached exclusively to the trough from which they are fed.

VARIOUS USES OF THE DOG. — Besides driving, the dog is also used for sacrifices,[1] as a helpmate in hunting,[2] and its skin furnishes material for clothing.[3] The Koryak deny ever having used dogs for food, except in times of famine. Their myths, too, refer with contempt to the custom of eating dog-meat. The heroes of some myths mock the Raven-Man because he eats dog-meat and excrement,[4] both being considered equally despicable. On the other hand, it should be remarked that the people who sacrifice dogs to divinities usually also eat them, as the Gilyak, Ainu,[5] and Indians; for the 231 782 262

[1] Compare Part I, pp. 90–97; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 525.
[2] See Chapter VII.
[3] See Chapter IX.
[4] Compare Part I, p. 199.
[5] See Schrenck, II, p. 167; Sternberg, The Gilyak, p. 40.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

idea of a sacrifice[1] includes the conception that the deity or spirit will make the same use of the offering or of its soul as does the person offering the sacrifice. Even the many colored rags or other trifles which the Siberians and also other tribes offer to the deities or spirits are given to them either as ornaments or as other utilities or as substitutes for costlier things. The Chukchee kill dogs for food, but they do not eat sacrificial dogs, says Bogoras.[2] This last statement is not in accord with the fact that in general the Chukchee do eat dog-meat, for the flesh of those sacrificial animals which are commonly used for food is usually eaten. Among the Koryak I saw the carcasses of sacrificed dogs skinned and cast out on the tundra.[3] In this case it must be assumed that the dog is sacrificed as a draught-animal or for the sake of its fur, as the Siberian natives hang on trees the skins of fur-bearing animals, which serve as offerings to evil spirits, while the carcasses are thrown away. Among the Yakut, the favorite offering to those divinities and spirits to whom no bloody sacrifices are offered, is hair from the horse's tail or mane. In this case the hair cannot be a substitute for the horse, but must have the significance of an object which is valuable in itself in Yakut domestic economy, nets, cords, and rugs being knitted of horsehair.

CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF DOGS. — The Koryak dog is useless as a watch-dog. In the first place, it is afraid of man, and runs away even at the motion of a hand. It hardly barks at all,[4] and thus does not warn its master of danger. Three times I took Arctic dogs, that I had reared myself, to civilized regions. One of them I took as far as Yakutsk, the other two I carried to European Russia. Despite certain changes in their character owing to my method of rearing, they showed no hostility to strangers.[5]

It is curious that when in harness the dog's character seems to change completely. In nearly all books of Arctic travels are found descriptions of the passionate excitement to which this tamed beast of prey is roused at the moment of starting on a journey. While travelling, the dogs not only attack other dogs, but even men whom they encounter. To meet a team of dogs rushing along is fraught with great danger for a person travelling on foot, who is obliged to turn off the trail. On meeting another team, the dogs engage in a fierce fight if one of the drivers does not turn aside. Should harnessed

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[1] The sacrifice of the totem animal or the divinity itself — made, according to the views held by some recent writers, in order to renew nature — must be excepted from this statement.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 101.

[3] See Part I, p. 95.

[4] Some dogs do not bark at all, and are as silent as if they were dumb. Those that bark do so rarely. Their bark is a drawl, and turns into a whine.

[5] Living far away from Yakutsk, I kept a horse of my own for travelling. My dog grew so attached to it that it would always lie down near it. One night when two Tatars from the Kazan Government who had been banished to the Yakutsk district for highway robbery, and who were my neighbors, stole the horse, the dog followed it in silence. The Tatars took the horse into the woods and there tied it up, intending to kill it for its meat the same evening; but, following the tracks of dog and horse, I found them and took them back home.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

reindeer meet with a dog-team unawares, they are inevitably torn to pieces. The dogs pay no attention to their master's shouts and club. The only way of stopping the carnage is to knock the dogs on the head and stun or kill them. While in camp in the wilderness, the dogs which lie tied up near the sledge do not allow strangers to go near it, perhaps because they know that their food is on the sledge, for at home they do not attack or molest strangers. Noticeable changes of character took place in my dogs which I had brought up myself, partly due to the different treatment, partly owing to their new surroundings. It cost a great deal of trouble to train them to discriminate between domestic animals, which they had never seen, and game which they were permitted to hunt. They used to catch chickens, ducks, geese, sheep, calves, foals, and cats all in the same fashion, by the throat. More than once I had to pay for the harm they had done. Even after they had finally become accustomed to domestic animals, atavistic enmities persisted. Their feuds with cats had no end, and they would always attack hogs; but from the very start the latter would drive them off, and the dogs came to be afraid of them.

In imitation of our dogs, they learned to bark, but they never barked at a person. On the contrary, they lost all fear of human beings, and took kindly to everybody. On the other hand, their attachment to their master and his friends was sufficiently firm. The dogs recognized me after an absence of several weeks, and boisterously expressed their delight. The Koryak dogs, on passing into new hands, become indifferent to their former master in a few days, as soon as they become familiar with their new comrades and their feeding-trough. At first, when in unwonted places, my dogs would sometimes fall to howling, which casts a feeling of melancholy and despondency over a traveller whom fate brings into a hamlet where a chorus of a hundred dogs begins its interminable evening concerts. After a few months' sojourn in civilized surroundings, however, they gave up their habit of howling.

An idea of the number of dogs kept by the Koryak may be formed on the bases of a census taken by me in 79 households of maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay (see table on p. 522).

The average per household is 10 dogs. The figures quoted are more or less constant. Although the dogs are very prolific, the number of dog-sacrifices equals or even surpasses the increase. If in spring, as frequently happens, an epidemic of hydrophobia or another contagious disease a symptom of which is an affection of the nerve-centres, rages among the dogs, many households lose all their animals. Then the people, when moving from their winter abode to their summer dwelling, have to drag their belongings along, or assist their dogs in drawing the sledges. A travelling family of this kind is represented on Plate XXVI, Fig. 2. One dog is harnessed to each sledge, and the women draw with them, while the men carry huge bundles on their shoulders.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

592 Families that have poor or young workers, and who cannot lay by sufficient stores of dog's food for the winter, usually own few dogs. The 231 members of such families are deprived of the chance of making trips to the 511 Russian hamlets to buy imported wares, or to the nomad camps of the Reindeer Koryak to trade for reindeer-meat.

Number of Households.	Number of Dogs in each Household.	Total Number of Dogs.
1	2	2
4	3	12
4	4	16
4	5	20
4	6	24
7	7	49
13	8	104
5	9	45
13	10	130
3	11	33
5	12	60
2	13	26
1	15	15
1	16	16
3	17	51
1	18	18
8	20	160
Total 79		781

471 Nearly all the men who own as many as twenty dogs, — enough for two teams at the rate of ten dogs per sledge — either conduct an independent 494 trade or are employed as clerks by the Russian merchants. Almost all through the winter the senior member of such a family is journeying from one reindeer-camp to another; while at home only a few dogs remain for work around the house, for trips to get wood, for hauling supplies of food [326] from the summer camp, and for other exigencies. The smiths of Paren and [437] Kuel, too, own not less than ten dogs each, which enable them to carry their iron-work among the Reindeer Koryak for barter. I found the best dogs among the Itkana people.[1] Their settlements lie off the main trail, running

[1] Around Bering Sea the best dogs are to be found on the Poqaĕ (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 102).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R Y 4 Koryak R Y 4

from Gishiga to Anadyr and Kamchatka, and the dogs are not exhausted by the frequent trips required for carrying cossacks, officials and mail. Besides, the Koryak dwelling along the main route have to share their dogs' food with the teams of the merchants passing by, and with the sedentary Koryak of the other villages. For this reason their own dogs often suffer from lack of food, grow very thin, and are very slow.

EFFICIENCY OF THE DOG. — Concerning the efficiency and swiftness of dogs, — mainly Koryak dogs, — I will give here only data from my own experience. The efficiency of a team depends less upon the number of dogs than upon their quality. A good team must consist of well-fed, adult dogs, that get along well with one another and know their master. Under such circumstances, even ten dogs (five pairs) are considered a complete team. The teams of the Russians or of Russianized natives are in better condition than those of the natives. Once I saw a Russian team of twelve dogs which carried about 1000 pounds, besides the dogs' food and the driver, in two days over a distance of 100 miles, from Nishne Kolymsk to the mouth of the Omolon. It must be added that the trail was good and smooth. Such feats are very rare, however. Ordinarily the Russian driver, both on the Kolyma and the Gishiga, would carry from 350 to 400 pounds a team, approximately 35 pounds per dog, for a distance of 200 miles or over. The Koryak drivers would take less, from 250 to 350 pounds; and some Koryak drivers, with teams of eight or nine dogs, would take only 200 pounds. Freight-sledges would make from 27 to 50 miles a day; while travelling alone, without freight, I made from 50 to 65 miles. Only once I covered a distance of 100 miles, from the village Paren to Gishiginsk despite a heavy snow-storm, without stopping over night. I left Paren at 8 A. M., and reached Gishiginsk at 5 A. M. on the following day. While travelling, we rested twice and drank tea by the side of a campfire. These rests consumed about three hours, and we lost nearly two hours on an elevated tundra because the snow-storm had obliterated the trail. Amid such unfavorable conditions we went at the rate of over six miles an hour, thanks to the fine quality of the dogs. The average trotting-speed of good dogs is generally from four and a half to six and a half miles an hour. Over short distances I have made between six and a half and ten miles an hour. In general, dogs are inferior in speed not only to horses, but even to reindeer; but they occupy the first place, reindeer the second, and horses the last, when capacity of running long distances with only brief rests is considered. They make long journeys without long rests provided the food is good. With a team of fresh reindeer, I once made 65 miles in six hours, almost without a stop; but before going on, I had to rest over night.

These figures, giving the speed of dogs, apply only to a well-trodden and level trail. When the journey lies over untrodden soft snow, deep snow,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

489 or hummocky ice, driving, even with good dogs, is considerably slower,
231 because the sledge sinks into the snow, or on account of the necessity of clearing obstacles.

435 The value of an ordinary Koryak dog ranges from 8 to 12 rubles. A
489 "leader" costs 15 rubles. A particularly bright "leader" costs from 20 to 25 rubles.

494 The fee for carrying freight is usually 1 ruble per pud (36 pounds) for 100 versts (66 miles); but merchants pay less, particularly to Koryak drivers, — 2.50 rubles or 2 rubles for a whole sledge-load of 5 pud.

A passenger-sledge (counting, of course, a single passenger only) costs 3 kopeks per verst, or 3 rubles per 100 versts, at the mail-carrier's rate, which has been established by the government. I usually paid 10 rubles per driving-sledge for such distances as Paren-Gishiga or Paren-Kamenskoye, approximately 150 and 200 versts (100 and 132 miles); but for long distances, without relay of dogs, the fee is lower. Thus from Gishiginsk to Anadyr (a distance of some 800 versts, or 530 miles) a sledge for a trip one way costs 25 rubles.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4 Sibiriak

*648 177

an elementary education, these schools ought to pursue practical ends. A breeding-station for reindeer associated with the school could vastly increase the value of herds. There the Koryak could be instructed in the advanced methods of domestication and of improving breeds, as well as in the art of preventing reindeer-epidemics. The school should also teach better methods of catching and preserving fish. The technical capacity and artistic talent of the Koryak, if properly directed, would lead to the development of home industries, — the production of fur rugs, for instance, — which would yield valuable articles for the export trade. If for a period of ten years the sums now expended on the administration of the country were spent on building and maintaining schools, the culture and material well-being of the Koryak could be raised to such an extent that their further development could be left in their own hands. Such ought to be the results aimed at by a rational colonial policy, leaving quite out of account the moral obligations of a civilized nation towards its primitive subjects. It cannot be denied that life under conditions and circumstances like those of the Koryak must be extremely hard to endure for people of any culture; but when the fate of the Siberian natives shall pass from the hands of the bureaucracy to those of the nation, not a few of the Russian intellectuals will be willing to sacrifice their comfort and habits of life for the sake of enlightening and enriching the inhabitants of the Far North.

It remains to summarize the positive and negative results derived by the Koryak from their contact with civilization. I shall, however, treat only of those aspects of the subject which were not touched upon in my description of the modern material culture of the Koryak as compared with that of the past. After the complete subjection of the Kamchadal, followed by a number of military rulers who abused their vast powers, Kamchatka entered upon a period characterized by greater consideration for the natives. That period, beginning with the end of the eighteenth century, could be termed the "period of enlightened despotism." Instead of trying to stimulate the local pursuits of the natives, the Administration decided to introduce among the Kamchadal occupations belonging to Russian civilization. By means of flogging and other modes of punishment, the Kamchadal were forced to build Russian houses, sow rye, raise vegetables, and breed cattle. The constraining measures innocently used by the despotic civilizers killed in the Kamchadal all initiative and energy: their individuality was totally crushed. Of course, all attempts to introduce agriculture utterly failed, while cattle-breeding and horticulture are still carried on in a desultory way. This "enlightened despotism" had its effect also on the Koryak settlements in northern Kamchatka. Here horticulture proved impossible, while horses and cattle are bred on a small scale. Thus, according to the data for 1896, there were in the village Dranka 9 horses and 17 cows; in Karagha, 3 horses and 2 cows; in Uka, 1 horse; in Pallan, 7

*648 177 231

l:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

807

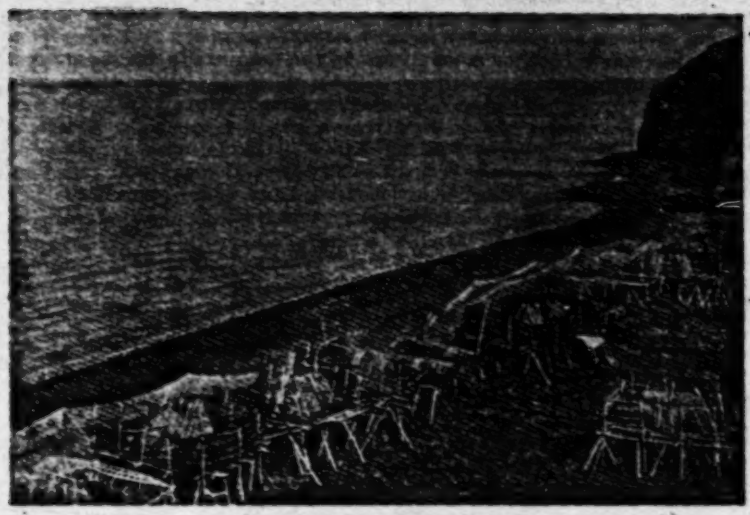
horses and 21 cows; and in Lesnovskoye, 27 horses and 2 cows. A somewhat greater number of these animals is found in the village Yamsk of the Okhotsk district. In 1895 there were in that village 30 horses and 40 cows; here, however, the population consisted in part of Yakut, who, being born cattle-breeders, take much better care of their cattle than do the Kamchadal and Koryak. The inhabitants of Yamsk also raise potatoes; in 1895, 63 puds[1] of these were planted, and 602 puds were reaped.

THE MISSIONARIES. — With the exception of a few noble personalities, like the Aleut missionary Veniaminoff, or the Altai missionary Verbitsky, the history of the activity of Greek-Orthodox missionaries among the heathen peoples of Siberia cannot be considered honorable. Up to the present time, the priests and monks sent to the Far Northeast are men of little education; they do not know, and are not able to study, the languages of the natives; they have rough manners, and are utterly lacking in qualities indispensable in expounders of the moral foundations of Christianity. Among the Koryak, the Russian missionaries had at first no success whatever. Among the Kamchadal, baptism in the beginning served as a means of making slaves of the newly baptized; and missionaries, no less than Cossacks, strove, above all, to secure furs. The secular chiefs often regarded the conversion of the Kamchadal to Christianity as one of the means of subjecting them. One of these chiefs would hang a Kamchadal who refused to be baptized; others excused the newly baptized for a number of years from paying tribute.[2] From the Kamchadal the missionaries proceeded to the Uka and Pallan Koryak of northern Kamchatka, and from there to the Alutor. In Dranka there is at the present time a church with a resident priest. But all these Christianized Koryak adopted to a certain degree only the formal side of the Orthodox creed. The same holds true of the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district and of the village Nayakhan in the Gishiga district, while the great bulk of the population of the Gishiga district has until to-day entirely resisted Christianity. These phenomena must in part be ascribed to the great tenacity with which the Koryak cling to their old religious beliefs. Besides, however, the Koryak are reluctant to undertake the burdens associated with baptism. The priest must be paid for performing the ceremonies of the Church, and be driven about the villages and settlements without remuneration to the drivers. To this must be added the abuses and extortions committed by the priests, against which the secular administration itself has repeatedly protested. In the Gishiginsk Archives there are several suits directed against the abuses of the clergy. Thus a suit was filed against three priests who had entered the services of merchants as drivers of goods, at the same time

[1] One pud is equivalent to 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

[2] For very interesting data on the unfavorable activity of the clergy, and on the oppression of the Kamchadal by the officials, see Dr. Tushov, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka (Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1906).

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4



Summer village.

the reindeer remained slightly behind the driver on the left, restraining the sled from slipping down too fast. The reindeer were managed with the help of reins and a whip with bone tips.

The coastal Koryaks and the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy kept sled dogs. A full team usually consisted of 10 to 12 animals. For dog-travel, the Koryaks used the four-staved sled, common throughout Eastern Siberia. It was 2–2.5 m long, and 0.5 m wide. Its parts were fastened with leather stripe and sharpened pegs inserted into holes, made especially to receive them. The dogs were harnessed tandem, in pairs. They were directed by voice, and braked with the aid of a staff (about one meter long) with an iron tip. The standard load per sled was 150–160 kg in addition to the weight of the driver (kayur).

The Koryaks learned horse-breeding from the Russians. Sedentary Koryaks (Palantsy, Karagintsy and southern Alyutortsy) kept horses, but they were used only in summer, as pack animals. In winter, they were left to their own devices, foraging for green fodder and often perishing of starvation, blizzards, frosts and wolves. Often the horses became so wild that their owner found it easier to walk dozens of miles with heavy loads rather than try to capture the horse.

For water transportation, the Koryaks used skin boats (baydars and kayaks). The Koryak baydar was similar to the Chukchi, but was considerably shorter and wider; its prow and stern were rounded. It was used by the Koryaks chiefly for hunting and fishing.

During the summertime, river transportation was by bat—boats hollowed out of thick tree trunks. They are extremely unstable in the water and require great skill of the helmsman, who steer with a long pole. Despite their untrustworthiness, these boats were also used by the Koryaks on the sea. In such cases, they were joined: two boats were linked with thick crossbars, leaving a space between them which was approximately equal to the width of one boat. Sometimes

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

members lived permanently in the villages, engaging in fishing and other work.

The work and life of the herders has also been organized quite differently from what was the case in the past. Each herding brigade has a yaranga. The brigade usually consists of 4-5 herders, a brigadier, a timekeeper and a woman "tent worker," whose duties include preparation of hot meals, mending clothes, and keeping the tent clean.

There are also new elements in the technique of pasturing. Especial stress is laid today on cultivation of new pastures and planned utilization of the old. The collective herd is distributed among various pastures, and an exact itinerary and timetable are set for the herd's migrations. For the purpose of guarding the herd and preserving the young, as well as for the better organization of pasturing and saving of labor, the herders today use riding horses in summer, and reindeer dogs in winter—a method entirely unknown to the Koryaks in the past. Various new methods in the organization and technique of reindeer-breeding are combined with expanded veterinary services. Energetic struggle is waged with epizootics, measures are taken to improve the breed of the reindeer, and so forth.

In 1947 an agricultural school for leading collective-farm personnel was opened in the village of Palana. This school trains specialists in reindeer-breeding—brigadiers, timekeepers, etc.

The collectives of the Koryak National Okrug own herds of many thousands of reindeer, and the productivity of the reindeer-breeding farms is rising. Thus, the Kirov collective (Tigil'skiy Rayon) increased its reindeer herd several times over during the postwar years. The incomes of the collectives in this branch of their economy have risen correspondingly.

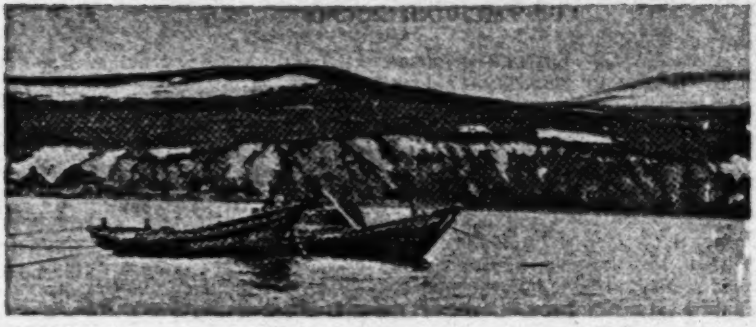
In the coastal collectives, the principal occupation is fishing. The development of fishing collectives is closely connected with the development of the fishing industry in the Koryak National Okrug. During the Five-Year Plans, a large, technically well-equipped socialist fishing industry of nation-wide importance has been created in the Koryak National Okrug. The establishment of industrial fishing has greatly affected the development and consolidation of fishing collectives.

The fishing cooperatives are served by the Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS), which have charge of motorized and motorless fleets. The MRS conduct activities to improve the fishermen's skills, teaching the Koryak collective-farm members new skills as brigadiers, motormen, etc. The chief fishing tools today, in place of the old primitive nets, are new and improved stationary, sweep and bag nets. The skin baydar has been entirely supplanted by motored and special motorless boats.

Along with the principal branches of activity, such as fishing and reindeer-breeding, the Koryak collectives are developing gardening and livestock-raising. Attempts to expand agricultural activities were made before the Revolution as well, but even among the sedentary Koryaks they produced no substantial results. The poorly worked earth gave low yields, and the crops often were killed by early frosts. Besides, the Koryaks had very inadequate knowledge of tending gardens or the use of agricultural tools. Livestock-breeding fared no better; the maintenance of livestock on green fodder all year lowered the milk yield of the cows to a minimum.

Gardening and animal husbandry began to develop among the Koryaks after 1930. A large role in this was played by Russian workers and the local Soviet intelligentsia, who helped the collective livestock-breeders and gardeners both by personal example and by teaching them. Quite often, Russian women came to the collectives and demonstrated methods of planting and preparing vegetables; they also taught the Koryaks how to tend

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4



Catching salmon with stationary seines. Molotov collective, Olyutorskiy Rayon, Kamchatskaya Oblast.

cattle. The most favorable conditions for the development of vegetable-gardening exist in the Tigil'skiy Rayon. Today, some of the collectives of this rayon not only produce enough vegetables to meet their own needs, but also grow them for sale.

The income of the collectives from auxiliary enterprises, and principally from fur-hunting, is also rising.

At present, there are several millionaire collectives in the Koryak National Okrug. On the leading collective of the Tigil'skiy Rayon, the Kirov collective, the capital fund reached the figure of 2,000,000 rubles in 1951. This collective was organized in 1941 on the basis of an association for the common pasturing of reindeer. The funds of other collectives are also rising. In 1951, the capital funds of the "Path of the North" and the "Beacon of the North" collectives of Penzhinskiy Rayon reached 1,500,000 rubles.

Simultaneously with the growth and consolidation of the collective farms, there is improvement in the life of the Koryak collective-farm members. The collective villages have become larger and more comfortable. The old semidugout has almost disappeared. Today the collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious wooden houses with glass windows. Many new villages have sprung up in the tundra as a result of the transition to sedentary life and the enlargement of collective farms. These include Sedanka Kochevaya (Tigil'skiy Rayon), Krestovoye (Penzhinskiy Rayon), the I. V. Stalin collective-farm village (Penzhinskiy Rayon), and others. In the Karaginskiy Rayon, at a spot where there was only one dugout in 1934, there is today a new rayon center—the large village of Ossora.

The modern Koryak village usually consists of several dozen dwellings and farm buildings, as well as buildings housing cultural and other institutions. Among the collective-farm buildings we must note the stables, which are an innovation among the Koryaks. In all the villages there are bathhouses, bakeries and stores. A great deal of attention is paid to the construction of cultural institutions. In every village there is a school (often with a dormitory), a club or a reading room with a library, a medical or a medical-assistant station, and a nursery. Many villages have been supplied with electricity and radio.

The former dispersion of individual areas of Koryak habitation is steadily being overcome. The means of local communication are being improved. Motorized transport (cutters, etc.) is widely used in

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--290 [3] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak;
116, 231, 262

"Domestic animals are few in kind at Karaga, but the number of individuals of the sledge-dogs makes some amends for the paucity of kinds. These brutes were of the usual Kamchatkan type, with prick ears and curly tails. Their colour was very variable, but, as remarked by Guillemard in his 'Cruise of the Marchesa,' many have a tendency to be white. There was no attempt to keep these dogs tied up, and they ran wild in all directions around the village, or lay about between or on the huts. Most of them, however, had small holes in the ground near their owners' dwellings, and in these they could lie quite snugly in any weather.

The presence of the dogs, of course, effectually prevents their owners from keeping fowl of any kind. We saw one light-coloured pony tethered in the village, and we were told that the natives possessed some cattle, but if that was so, we saw no trace of them, nor did we ascertain if they were the possessors of a herd of reindeer. Their main food at this time of the year would appear to consist of berries of various sorts and of fish."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--295 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 101, 166, 231

"These people [the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] are said to have followed their reindeer over from the mainland during a winter, in which the straits were frozen over, and to have been unable to return whence they came, there having been, since they crossed, no frost severe enough to enable them to travel on the ice. Whether this story is true or not, we are unable to say, but it was told to us in Petropavlowsk. The people themselves seemed to us to be very different from those whom we saw at Karaga. They told us that their reindeer were in the hills at a distance of one or two days' journey from the village; besides reindeer, they possessed the usual type of sledge-dogs, but we saw no trace of any other domestic animals."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

231 264 342 Their huts are made much in the ſame manner as thoſe of other wandering people, but leſs than thoſe of the *Calmucks*. In the winter they cover them with raw deer-ſkins, and in the ſummer with tanned. They have no flooring or ſeparation within their huts; in the middle only are four little ſtakes driven, between which is their hearth. To theſe ſtakes they commonly tie their dogs, which frequently drag the victuals out of the kettles while it is dreſſing; and notwithſtanding their maſters beat them very ſeverely, they generally come in for a ſhare of every piece. A man muſt be very hungry to be able to eat with theſe people. Inſtead of waſhing their kettles or platters they give them to the dogs to lick, and the very fleſh which they tear from the mouths of the dogs they throw again into the kettles without waſhing it.

171 342 The *Tchukotſkoi* winter huts are much preferable to thoſe of the *Koreki*, being much warmer and more roomy. Several families live in the ſame hut, all having their proper benches, upon which deer-ſkins are ſpread, whereon they ſit or ſleep. Upon each bench a lamp burns day and night, for which they uſe fiſh-oil and a wick of moſs. They have an opening in the top, which ſerves for a chimney; however they are almoſt as ſmoaky as thoſe of the *Koreki*, but ſo warm, that in the coldeſt places the women ſit naked. The cloaths which they wear are made of rein-deer ſkins, not differing in the leaſt from thoſe of the *Kamtſchadales*, who purchaſe them from the *Koreki*.

171 291 They feed upon the fleſh of the rein-deer, in which they very much abound, ſome of the rich having ten or twenty thouſand; 233 55 nay, one of the chiefs was ſaid to have one hundred thouſand: 262 but yet they are ſo penurious, that they are ſorry to kill any 57 for their own uſe, ſatisfying themſelves with ſuch as die naturally, or are killed by the wolves. Of this carrion, indeed, they have plenty; and they are not aſhamed to excuſe themſelves from entertaining travellers by telling them that none of their deer

deer are killed or have died lately.

NS 492 484 /488 cont./ development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K 231 [361] [492] To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

K 174 231 361

7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G Gi NS K 231 171 /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subsequently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E 231 171 174 Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic animal and used it in harness when they were still on their original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

Eskimo ND2
Circumpolar Culture R3
Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2

E /489 cont./

231 part of the continent, from the Bering Sea to Greenland, which
191 explains the fact, so surprising at first glance, that in America
194 there are no peoples at all devoting themselves to keeping tame reindeer, as in the Old World, in spite of the fact that the physical conditions for it are not lacking there, and the reindeer in the wild state occur there frequently and commonly enough and are hunted by the Eskimo for food and clothing. America re-
C 194 ceived all of its population in the reindeer zone from an Asian
231 group of peoples who did not yet know the domesticated reindeer
191 and had only the dog as a domestic animal, and, to be sure, for the purpose of harnessing it, and thus necessarily kept in great numbers and in a stage of domestication in which the nobler qualities of personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance were still missing in it, and, on the other hand, its predatory nature appeared on every occasion. This latter circumstance in itself makes inconceivable a separate domestication of another animal defenseless against the dog, like the reindeer, by such peoples (1).

> 1. Middendorff (Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1302) remarks that in those places of Siberia where the harness dogs prevail, neither sheep nor poultry can gain a foothold, and even calves are threatened by constant danger. In Kamchatka, not only poultry, but pigs and cows, too, were attacked by dogs, which gave rise to the removal of the latter for the summer from Peter-Paul Harbor, as is done today, and keeping them at another place.

And, furthermore, why should a fishing people, such as the Eskimo and all the Paleo-Asiatics, think of domesticating an animal for which they have no food, and on this account they would be ob-
Ch K 194 liged to give up their permanent habitation sites and change their entire way of life? The ancestors of the nomadic Chukchee and
231 Koryak certainly did not domesticate the reindeer themselves,
191 but obtained it already domesticated from a nomadic tribe wandering toward them -- as was mentioned above, presumably from the Tungus.